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ABSTRACT

As classrooms in the United States become increasingly multicultural, teachers need to be aware of how and when racial attitudes develop in children in order to provide a supportive learning environment for children of any ethnic heritage. This study examined racial awareness and attitudes in children between 3 and 10 years of age. Subjects were 32 Anglo-American children, 39 Hispanic American, 31 African American, 26 Native American and 30 Asian American children primarily from middle-class families. The children were surveyed to learn at what age they developed an awareness of their own ethnicity and at what age they could recognize the differences in other ethnic groups. Magazine pictures of children from each of the ethnic groups were used with the older children; for the children 3 and 4 years of age, Lakeshore ethnic dolls were used instead of or in addition to the magazine pictures. Each child was individually asked to point to a picture who "looks like you"; to draw a picture of him- or herself; to find a match to each ethnic group; to respond to the colors black, brown, and white; to choose a friend from the children in the pictures, and to answer questions about the children in the pictures as to positive and negative attributes. Results indicated that Anglo children were more aware of and expressed preferences for their own group more often than did minority children. Minority children expressed an out-group preference most of the time. (Includes extensive tables of data, a 37-item bibliography, and the Racial Awareness Response Form.) (HTH)

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ETHNIC AWARENESS AND ATTITUDES IN YOUNG CHILDREN

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ABSTRACT

This study examines racial awareness and attitudes in children between three and ten years of age. As classrooms in the United States become increasingly multicultural, teachers need to be aware of how and when racial attitudes develop in children in order to provide a supportive learning environment for children of any ethnic heritage. The children in this study are of Anglo, African American, Asian, Native American, and Hispanic descent. Children were asked to make choices about and to match pictures or dolls from each ethnicity. Magazine pictures and the Lakeshore ethnic dolls were used. In this study, Anglo children were more aware of and expressed preference for their own group more often than did minority children. Minority children expressed an out-group preference most of the time.

BACKGROUND

Between 1939 and 1947, Kenneth and Mamie Clark investigated the development of ethnic awareness and racial attitudes in young children in the southern and northern regions of the United States. The results of these studies demonstrated that young Black children, given a choice, consistently identified with and preferred members of the dominant, White society. These studies were pivotal in the decision by the Supreme Court in 1954 to desegregate schools in the United States.

The method used by the Clarks as described by Alfred Davey in Learning to Be Prejudiced was to individually present 253 Black children three to seven years of age with four dolls, two of which were dark brown with black hair and two of which were white with blond hair. The children were asked to respond to the following questions:

1. "Give me the doll that you like to play with."
2. "Give me the doll that is a nice doll."
3. "Give me the doll that looks bad."
4. "Give me the doll that is a nice color."
5. "Give me the doll that looks like a White child."
6. "Give me the doll that looks like a Colored child."
7. "Give me the doll that looks like a Negro child."
8. "Give me the doll that looks like you."

The Clarks found that Black children were well able to recognize gross ethnic differences by the age of three. Nearly two-thirds of the children in the Clarks' study preferred the white doll to the brown doll and chose the white doll in response to the request for the doll "that looks like you". The older children in the study showed less preference for the white doll and did not identify as often with the white doll, but the majority of the children preferred the white doll at every age level.

According to Davey, the Clarks' findings were confirmed by further investigations over the following 20 years, and most of these subsequent studies included a White comparison group. There was some variation in methods and materials e.g. puppets, photographs, or drawings were used instead of dolls. The children involved were usually

three to ten years of age. Most studies (e.g. Goodman, 1952; Stevenson and Stewart, 1958; Morland, 1958, 1962; Ahser and Allen, 1969; and Porter, 1971) supported the substantive findings of the Clarks' work.

Davey cites two challenges to the results of the studies by Kenneth and Mamie Clark. Gregor and McPherson (1966a) in a test of Black and White children in segregated schools in an unspecified location in the "deep south" found a much higher percentage of Black children identifying with their own racial group and preferring their own racial group than did the Clark study. Another study, Greenwald and Oppenheim (1968), used a mulatto doll in addition to the brown and white dolls and found that only 13 percent of the Black children identified with the white doll. Interestingly, in this study, the White children identified incorrectly more often than the Black children, leading to a suggestion by J. D. Porter in his 1971 study, Black Child, White Child, that the color variations in the dolls used in the Greenwald and Oppenheim study were too small for accurate discrimination by four and five year old children (David Milner, Children and Race, 1983).

A study by Gregor and McPherson (1966b) conducted in South Africa describes White children as being more strongly pro-white and anti-black than indicated by similar studies of White children in the United States. Of the Black children who were interviewed, 76 percent showed a strong preference for the white doll, 79 percent thought the black doll was "bad"; however, only 34 percent chose the white doll as looking more like them, giving rise to the speculation that when racism is so virulent and hostility so great, identification with another ethnic group is unrealistic and dangerous (David Milner, Children and Race, 1983).

In 1969, J. K. Morland reported in the American Journal of Sociology his attempt to test the idea that racial attitudes are a function of the status relations between groups in a stratified society. He chose to study Chinese children in Hong Kong because he viewed the social structure in Hong Kong as multiracial with no racial group in a clearly dominant position as opposed to the high status/low status division of White and Black ethnic groups in the United States. He compared his findings to similar studies involving Black and White children in the United States. He found that 65 percent of the Chinese children preferred their own group compared to 82 percent of the White children from the United States and 28 percent of the Black children from the United States. When he tested for racial identification, Morland found similar results. He concluded that social status is the basis for racial attitudes, and when skin color variations accompany status divisions, the gap between the high status group and the low status group is very wide (David Milner, Children and Race, 1983).

Wallace E. Lambert and Yosh Taguchi, in an effort to prove that prejudicial behavior appears at the same age

as ethnic awareness and ethnic preferences appear, conducted a study of 13 children in a nursery school in Montreal, Canada. Six of the children were of Japanese origin, and seven were of Rumanian, Greek, German, and Polish descent. Lambert and Taguchi felt that the prevailing theory, placing the appearance of prejudicial behavior at eight to ten years (Moreno, 1934 and Criswell, 1937), was incorrect because the significant values of pre-school children were not incorporated in the testing procedures.

Their test involved:

(a) giving away a piece of candy to another classmate and receiving one themselves.

(b) choosing a classmate to pose with them for picture taking.

(c) indicating which picture - other than their own - they liked best and would want to keep.

Their results showed the Japanese children preferring their own group 100 percent of the time. The Rumanian, Greek, German, and Polish children preferred their own group 56 percent of the time when giving and receiving candy, 71 percent of the time when taking pictures, and 57 percent of the time when choosing pictures. Their conclusion was that prejudicial behavior in the form of ethnic cleavage occurs in pre-school children.

There are several theories that attempt to account for the existence of prejudice in children according to Frances Aboud (Children and Prejudice, 1988). The social reflection theory is the most widely accepted theory by the public in general and by those involved in research on the subject. There are, in fact, two social reflection theories. One suggests that prejudice is a reflection of the different values assigned to different ethnic groups in a stratified society. These values are based on the status of the different groups and are recognizable by all members of the society regardless of their ethnic group membership. The second reflection theory states that the attitudes of children are a reflection of their parent's values and, as such, are tied to membership in a particular ethnic group. Both theories suggest that social attitudes and values are acquired through gradual learning. Consequently, prejudice should increase as children grow older. This is not confirmed by research as there appears to be a lessening of own group preference at seven or eight years of age and an increasingly positive attitude toward other groups developing at the same age. These two trends continue through childhood and adolescence (Aboud and Mitchell, 1977 and Kalin, 1979).

The authoritarian theory explains the development of prejudice as a defense mechanism used to deal with the anger a child feels when there is conflict between what the child wants and what he can have. If parents fail to help the child express his anger in other ways, that anger will be transferred to people less powerful and less well known than

the child's parents. A factor contributing to prejudice would then be the authoritarian manner in which some parents raise their children. However, this theory does not explain the uniformly high own group preference found in Anglo children four to seven years of age regardless of their families' parenting techniques (Frances Aboud, Children and Prejudice, 1988).

According to the social-cognitive developmental theory, prejudice is an inevitable phenomenon in a young child because of his cognitive limitations. Therefore, a child's prejudice at one developmental stage is not the same as his prejudice at another because it comes from a different understanding of the world. While this theory does not allow for a clear prediction of the direction preference will take at the affective-self stage, it does explain age related changes in ethnic attitudes. It relates the development of prejudice to the development of processes and the change in focus from self to group to individuals - known to be factors in social development generally (Frances Aboud, Children and Prejudice, 1988).

It is important to determine the age at which a child becomes aware of ethnic differences because that awareness precedes the formation of racial attitudes, either positive or negative. This awareness is also a factor in a child's self-identification process (Frances Aboud, Children and Prejudice, 1988). Intervention in a classroom setting as an attempt to reduce prejudice would need to be geared to the age related concerns of the child, and would need to give attention to the process that is dominant (affective) and the focus of attention (self).

Because the United States is a multicultural society where many different racial and cultural groups exist, but is not a pluralistic society where all racial and cultural groups share equally in the opportunities and benefits that are part of our nation (Carol Brunson Phillips, Nurturing Diversity for Today's Children and Tomorrow's Leaders, 1988), it is important - if our aim is to reduce bias and prejudice - that we address the responses to diversity - the misconceptions, the fears and the uneasiness about differences that young children can develop as they become aware of the dissimilarities between people. We need to do this before children learn to respond unfairly based upon the values society places upon such differences.

Between two and five years of age, children develop the cognitive ability to distinguish color differences, and to recognize differences in the size, shape, and texture of objects. Because they can do these things, they are also able to perceive ethnic differences. It is sometimes disturbing to adults to hear young children remarking on differences in skin tone and hair color and these remarks can be misinterpreted by parents and teachers as reflecting prejudice on the part of the child rather than as an example of the child's natural curiosity about the variety in hair color and skin tone

that he or she is beginning to notice. If parents or teachers of young children hoping to minimize racial issues avoid responding to this curiosity or worse suggest that these differences which the child can clearly see don't exist, the child may develop the feeling that such differences are "bad" because they can't be talked about. Children learn social values and norms from their families, their friends, and their environment. It is important therefore, for parents, teachers, and caregivers to respond in positive and accepting ways to the questions young children have about the physical and cultural differences between the inhabitants of their world.

METHODOLOGY

In a study conducted between July 1993 and November 1994, 158 children (32 Anglo-American children, 39 Hispanic-American children, 31 African-American children, 26 Native American children, and 30 Asian American children) between three and ten years of age were surveyed to learn at what age they developed an awareness of their own ethnicity and at what age they could recognize the differences in other ethnic groups. The children were from Indiana, Texas, and Illinois and primarily from middle income families. A few of the children were from very low income families.

The Anglo-American children were predominately from a rural area of Indiana where there is little ethnic diversity. The Hispanic children were all of Spanish and Native American descent from rural and urban areas in Texas. The Native American children were from many different Nations including the Alabama-Coushattas, originally Creeks who reside on the Alabama-Coushatta Indian Reservation near Livingston, Texas; the Miami Nation of Indians of Indiana; and children of Blackfoot, Lakota Sioux, Chippewa, Winnebago, Menominee, and Crow descent from a Native American Center in Chicago, Illinois. The Asian-American children were of Chinese, Japanese, Vietnamese, and Korean descent from urban areas in Indiana and Texas. The African-American children were from urban areas in Indiana and Texas.

Magazine pictures of Anglo-American, Hispanic, Asian- American, African-American, and Native American children were used. With children three and four years of age the Lakeshore ethnic dolls - a boy and a girl doll of each of the five ethnic groups - were used instead of or in addition to the magazine pictures. The pictures were all of attractively dressed children engaging in positive activities. Each child being interviewed was individually asked to point to a child who "Looks like you."; to draw a picture of himself or herself; to find matches to each ethnic group

from an additional set of pictures; to respond to the colors black, brown, and white; to choose a friend from the children in the pictures; and to answer questions about the children in the pictures as to positive and negative attributes.

The interview schedule and additional tables are contained in the appendix of this report.

Results of the study were analyzed by the Chi Square statistic. Results were tested for significance at the 0.05 level.

The results of the study are contained in Tables I - XIX and are presented below.

TABLE I

1 Anglo Children
2 African American Children
3 Asian American Children
4 Native American Children
5 Hispanic Children

A. Self-Concept
1. Which child looks like you?

	1	2	3	4	5
1	75.00%*	0.00%	16.00%	0.00%	6.00%
2	10.00%	47.00%*	3.00%	19.00%	10.00%
3	30.00%	0.00%	33.00%*	0.00%	3.00%
4	27.00%	12.00%	15.00%	31.00%*	4.00%
5	28.00%	6.00%	22.00%	11.00%	25.00%*

*Chi Square = 38.02
*Significance = 0.0001

Table I shows the Anglo children identifying with their own ethnic group 75 percent of the time. African American children identify correctly 47 percent of the time; Asian American children identify correctly 33 percent of the time; Native American children identify correctly 31 percent of the time; and Hispanic children identify correctly 25 percent of the time.

The differences in the frequencies produced a Chi Square of 38.02 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

TABLE II

1. Anglo Children
2. African American Children
3. Asian American Children
4. Native American Children
5. Hispanic Children

A. Self-Concept
2. How are you and that child alike?

	Racial characteristics e.g. facial features, eye/skin color, hair color/type mentioned	Other: Clothing, hair style, gender, age mentioned	No reason mentioned
1	56.00%	28.00%	16.00%
2	23.00%	13.00%	65.00%
3	20.00%	10.00%	70.00%
4	31.00%	12.00%	58.00%
5	17.00%	19.00%	64.00%
Chi Square Significance	33.78 0.0001	13.00 0.113	35.44 0.0001

Table II shows the results for three tests.

The first test shows the Anglo children mentioning racial characteristics more frequently than did the African American, Asian American, Native American, or the Hispanic children. The difference in the frequencies produced a Chi Square of 33.78 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

The second test shows each group of children mentioning clothing, hair style, gender, and age with similar frequencies. The difference in the frequencies produced a Chi Square of 13.00 which was significant at the 0.113 level and, therefore, not significant.

The third test shows the African American, Asian American, Native American, and Hispanic children less able to find a reason for their choice than were the Anglo children. The difference in the frequencies produced a Chi Square of 35.44 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

TABLE III

1. Anglo American Children
2. African American Children
3. Asian American Children
4. Native American Children
5. Hispanic American Children

B. Self-Esteem
1. Description of drawing

	Accurately Reflects Racial Identity
1	66.00%
2	48.00%
3	47.00%
4	46.00%
5	36.00%

Chi Square = 9.6
Significance = 0.046

Table III finds the drawings of the Anglo children more accurately reflecting their own ethnicity than do the drawings of the African American children, the Asian American children, the Native American children, or the Hispanic children.

The difference in the frequencies produced a Chi Square of 9.6 which was significant at the 0.046 level.

TABLE IV

B Self-Esteem

2 Child's comments while drawing

	Racial characteristics e.g. facial features, eye, skin, hair color mentioned	Other: Clothing, hair style, gender, age mentioned	No Comment
1	25.00%	31.00%	44.00%
2	3.00%	23.00%	74.00%
3	7.00%	13.00%	80.00%
4	0.00%	31.00%	69.00%
5	0.00%	14.00%	86.00%
Chi Square Significance	62.57 0.0001	13.71 0.008	14.83 0.005

Table IV shows the results of three tests

The first test shows the Anglo children mentioning racial characteristics while drawing more often than do the African American, Asian American, Native American, or the Hispanic children

The differences produced a Chi Square of 62.57 which was significant at the 0.0001 level

The second test shows the Anglo children and the Native American children mentioning clothing, hair style, gender, and age while drawing more often than do African American children, Asian American children, or Hispanic children

The third test shows the African American children, the Asian American children, the Native American children, and the Hispanic children making no comment while drawing more often than do the Anglo children

The difference in the frequencies produced a Chi Square of 14.83 which was significant at the 0.005 level

TABLE V

1 Anglo American Children
2 African American Children
3 Asian American Children
4 Native American Children
5 Hispanic American Children

C Racial Awareness and Knowledge of Racial Terms

1 Find the child that is like this one

	1	2	3	4	5	All Correctly Matched	None Correctly Matched
1	75.00%*	63.00%	44.00%	41.00%	41.00%	31.00%	25.00%
2	35.00%	45.00%*	26.00%	16.00%	26.00%	0.00%	29.00%
3	40.00%	53.00%	47.00%*	23.00%	17.00%	10.00%	13.00%
4	58.00%	69.00%	42.00%	23.00%*	38.00%	27.00%	19.00%
5	47.00%	56.00%	44.00%	19.00%	36.00%*	17.00%	31.00%
Chi Square	19.96	5.95	6.88	15.54	12.44	37.29	9.367
Signifi-cance	0.0005	0.2023	0.1425	0.0037	0.0143	0.0001	0.0525

*Chi Square = 32.495
*Significance = 0.0001

Table V shows the results of eight tests.

The first test shows the Anglo children matching Anglo children more often than did the African American, the Asian American, the Native American, or the Hispanic children.

The difference in the frequencies produced a Chi Square of 19.96 which was significant at the 0.0005 level.

The second test shows the ability of the children from each of the ethnic groups to match African American children to be very similar.

The difference in the frequencies produced a Chi Square of 5.95 which was significant at the 0.2023 level, but not at the 0.05 level.

The third test shows the African American children less able to match Asian American children than were the Anglo, Asian American, Native American, or Hispanic children.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 6.88 which was significant at the 0.1425 level, but not at the

0 05 level

The fourth test shows the Anglo children better able to match Native American children than were the African American, the Asian American, the Native American, or the Hispanic children

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 15 54 which was significant at the 0 0037 level

The fifth test shows the Anglo, the Native American, and the Hispanic children better able to match Hispanic children than were the African American or the Asian American children

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 12 44 which was significant at the 0 0143 level

The sixth test shows that the Anglo children could match all the ethnic groups more often than could the African American, Asian American, Native American, or the Hispanic children

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 37 29 which was significant at the 0 0001 level

The seventh test shows the Hispanic children unable to match all the ethnic groups more often than were the Anglo, the African American, the Asian American, or the Native American children

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 9 367 which was significant at the 0 0525 level

The eighth test (*) shows the Anglo children able to match their own ethnic group more often than the African American children, the Asian American children, the Native American children, or the Hispanic children could match their own ethnic group

The difference in the frequencies produced a Chi Square of 32 495 which was significant at the 0 0001 level

TABLE VI

1. Anglo American Children
2. African American Children
3. Asian American Children
4. Native American Children
5. Hispanic American Children

C. Racial Awareness and Knowledge of Racial Terms

2. What do you call these people?

	1	2	3	4	5	No Racial Terms Expressed
1	9.00%*	9.00%	3.00%	3.00%	3.00%	88.00%
2	10.00%	6.00%*	6.00%	0.00%	0.00%	81.00%
3	3.00%	0.00%	10.00%*	0.00%	0.00%	83.00%
4	4.00%	8.00%	12.00%	0.00%*	4.00%	85.00%
5	19.00%	17.00%	3.00%	0.00%	0.00%*	78.00%
Chi Square Signifi-cance	18.0 0.0012	18.75 0.0009	9.82 0.0435	12.0 0.00174	10.857 0.0282	0.698 0.9515

*Chi Square = 18.4
*Significance = 0.0010

Table VI shows the results of seven tests.

The first test shows Hispanic children expressing racial terms for Anglo children more often than did Anglo, African American, Asian American, or Native American children.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 18.0 which was significant at the 0.0012 level.

The second test shows Hispanic children expressing racial terms for African American children more often than did Anglo, African American, Asian American, or Native American children.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 18.75 which was significant at the 0.0009 level.

The third test shows the Native American children expressing racial terms for Asian American children more often than did Anglo, African American, Asian American, or Hispanic children.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 9.82 which was significant at the 0.0435 level.

The fourth test shows only the Anglo children expressing racial terms for Native American children.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 12.0 which was significant at the 0.0174 level.

The fifth test shows the Anglo children and the Native American children expressing racial terms for Hispanic children.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 10.857 which was significant at the 0.0282 level.

The sixth test shows the Anglo children expressing the least knowledge of racial terms. The Hispanic children are shown expressing the greatest knowledge of racial terms.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 0.698 which was significant at the 0.9515 level, but not at the 0.05 level.

The seventh test (*) shows the Asian American children expressing racial terms for children of their own ethnicity more often than did the Anglo, African American, Native American, or the Hispanic children.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 18.4 which was significant at the 0.0010 level.

TABLE VII

1. Anglo American Children
2. African American Children
3. Asian American Children
4. Native American Children
5. Hispanic American Children

D. Racial Attitude
1. What do you think of when you see the color (*name of color*)?

	Positive for Black	Positive for Brown	Positive for White
1	81.00%	81.00%	81.00%
2	32.00%	32.00%	35.00%
3	33.00%	27.00%	33.00%
4	54.00%	46.00%	54.00%
5	22.00%	17.00%	19.00%
Chi Square Significance	49.9369 0.0001	61.0148 0.0001	51.6937 0.0001

Table VII shows the results for three tests.

The first test finds the Anglo children showing more positive responses to the color black than did the African American, the Asian, the Native American, or the Hispanic children.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 49.9369 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

The second test finds the Anglo children showing more positive responses to the color brown than did the African American, the Asian, the Native American, or the Hispanic children.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 61.0148 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

The third test finds the Anglo children showing more positive responses to the color white than did the African American, the Asian, the Native American, or the Hispanic children.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 51.6937 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

TABLE VIII

1. Anglo American Children
2. African American Children
3. Asian American Children
4. Native American Children
5. Hispanic American Children

D. Racial Attitude
1. What do you think of when you see the color (*name of color*)?

	Negative for Black	Negative for Brown	Negative for White
1	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
2	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
3	7.00%	7.00%	0.00%
4	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
5	3.00%	6.00%	3.00%
Chi Square Significance	19.0 0.0008	19.6923 0.0006	12.0 0.0174

Table VIII shows the results for three tests.

The first test finds the Asian children showing more negative responses to the color black than did the Anglo, the African American, the Native American, or the Hispanic children.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 19.0 which was significant at the 0.0008 level.

The second test finds the Asian and the Hispanic children showing more negative responses to the color brown than did the Anglo, the African American.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 19.6923 which was significant at the 0.0006 level.

The third test finds the Hispanic children showing more negative responses to the color white than did the Anglo, the African American, the Native American, or the Asian children.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 12.0 which was significant at the 0.0174 level.

TABLE IX

1. Anglo American Children
2. African American Children
3. Asian American Children
4. Native American Children
5. Hispanic American Children

D. Racial Attitude
2. How does the color (*name of color*) make you feel?

	Positive for Black	Positive for Brown	Positive for White
1	41.00%	25.00%	44.00%
2	35.00%	26.00%	35.00%
3	23.00%	23.00%	30.00%
4	50.00%	31.00%	62.00%
5	25.00%	19.00%	28.00%
Chi Square Significance	14.5057 0.0048	3.0968 0.5418	19.3166 0.0007

Table IX shows the results of three tests.

The first test finds the Native American children showing more positive feelings for the color black than did the Anglo, the African American, the Asian, or the Hispanic children.

The difference in the frequencies produced a Chi Square of 14.5057 which was significant at the 0.0058 level.

The second test finds the Native American children showing more positive feelings for the color brown than did the Anglo, the African American, the Asian, or the Hispanic children.

The difference in the frequencies produced a Chi Square of 3.0968 which was significant at the 0.5418 level, but not at the 0.05 level.

The third test finds the Native American children showing more positive feelings for the color white than did the Anglo, the African American, the Asian, or the Hispanic children.

The difference in the frequencies produced a Chi Square of 19.3166 which was significant at the 0.007 level.

TABLE X

1. Anglo American Children
2. African American Children
3. Asian American Children
4. Native American Children
5. Hispanic American Children

D. Racial Attitude
2. How does the color (*name of color*) make you feel?

	Negative for Black	Negative for Brown	Negative for White
1	19.00%	28.00%	13.00%
2	6.00%	16.00%	6.00%
3	10.00%	10.00%	7.00%
4	12.00%	27.00%	4.00%
5	3.00%	12.00%	0.00%
Chi Square Significance	15.0 0.0047	15.2258 0.0043	15.0 0.0047

Table X shows the results for three tests.

The first test finds the Anglo children showing more negative feelings toward the color black than did the African American, the Asian American, the Native American, or the Hispanic children.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 15.0 which was significant at the 0.0047 level.

The second test finds the Anglo and the Native American children showing more negative feelings toward the color brown than did the African American, the Asian American, or the Hispanic children.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 15.2258 which was significant at the 0.0043 level.

The third test finds the Anglo children showing more negative feelings toward the color white than did the African American, the Asian American, the Native American, or the Hispanic children.
The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 15.0 which was significant at the 0.0047 level.

TABLE XI

1. Anglo American Children
2. African American Children
3. Asian American Children
4. Native American Children
5. Hispanic American Children

D. Racial Attitude
3. Which one is lazy and stupid?

	1	2	3	4	5	
1	13.00%	19.00%	9.00%	0.00%	19.00%	Chi Square: 21.0 Significance: 0.0003
2	23.00%	23.00%	13.00%	23.00%	13.00%	Chi Square: 6.3158 Significance: 0.1768
3	17.00%	13.00%	20.00%	20.00%	17.00%	Chi Square: 1.9080 Significance: 0.7527
4	23.00%	19.00%	0.00%	12.00%	38.00%	Chi Square: 42.6739 Significance: 0.0001
5	22.00%	17.00%	17.00%	17.00%	22.00%	Chi Square: 1.5789 Significance: 0.8126

Table XI shows the results of five tests. Two of these tests were significant at or beyond the 0.05 level.

The first test finds the Anglo children stating that the African American and the Hispanic children are more lazy and stupid than are the Native American, the Asian or the Anglo children.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 21.0 which was significant at the 0.0003 level.

The fourth test finds the Native American children stating that the Hispanic children are more lazy and stupid than are the Anglo, the African American, the Asian, or the Native American children.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 42.6739 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

TABLE XII

1. Anglo American Children
2. African American Children
3. Asian American Children
4. Native American Children
5. Hispanic American Children

D. Racial Attitude
4. Which one is mean?

	1	2	3	4	5	
1	9.00%	6.00%	6.00%	0.00%	13.00%	Chi Square: 13.3529 Significance: 0.0097
2	13.00%	19.00%	10.00%	26.00%	16.00%	Chi Square: 8.9762 Significance: 0.0617
3	23.00%	10.00%	13.00%	13.00%	23.00%	Chi Square: 9.2195 Significance: 0.0558
4	23.00%	4.00%	0.00%	12.00%	31.00%	Chi Square: 47.8571 Significance: 0.0001
5	19.00%	22.00%	3.00%	17.00%	22.00%	Chi Square: 15.0120 Significance: 0.0047

Table XII shows the results of five tests. Three of the tests are significant at or beyond the 0.05 level.

The first test finds the Anglo children stating that the Hispanic children are mean more often than the Native American, the African American, The Asian American, or the Anglo children.

The difference in the frequencies produced a Chi Square of 13.3529 which was significant at the 0.0097 level.

The fourth test finds the Native American children stating that the Hispanic children are mean more often than are the Asian, the African American, the Native American, or the Anglo children.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 47.8571 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

The fifth test finds the Hispanic children stating that the African American and the Hispanic children are mean more often than are the Asian, the Native American, or the Anglo children.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 15.0120 which was significant at the 0.0047 level.

TABLE XIII

1. Anglo American Children
2. African American Children
3. Asian American Children
4. Native American Children
5. Hispanic American Children

D. Racial Attitude
5. Which one is bad?

	1	2	3	4	5	
1	6.00%*	22.00%	6.00%	0.00%	16.00%	Chi Square: 31.2 Significance: 0.0001
2	16.00%	19.00%*	13.00%	13.00%	23.00%	Chi Square: 4.3333 Significance: 0.3628
3	13.00%	13.00%	17.00%*	17.00%	20.00%	Chi Square: 2.25 Significance: 0.6889
4	0.00%	15.00%	12.00%	8.00%*	35.00%	Chi Square: 48.4286 Significance: 0.0001
5	22.00%	11.00%	22.00%	19.00%	17.00%*	Chi Square: 4.5495 Significance: 0.3367

*Chi Square = 10.5373
*Significance = 0.0323.

Table XIII shows the results for six tests. Three of the tests are significant at or beyond the 0.05 level.

The first test finds the Anglo children stating that the African American children are bad more often than are the Anglo, the Native American, the Asian, or the Hispanic children.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 31.2 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

The fourth test finds the Native American children stating that the Hispanic children are bad more often than are the Anglo, the Native American, the Asian, or the African American children.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 48.4286 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

The sixth test (*) shows the Anglo and the Native American children finding children from their own ethnicities bad less often than did the African American, the Asian American, or the Hispanic children.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 10.5373 which was significant at the 0.0323 level.

TABLE XIV

1. Anglo American Children
2. African American Children
3. Asian American Children
4. Native American Children
5. Hispanic American Children

D. Racial Attitude
6. Which one is helpful and smart?

	1	2	3	4	5	
1	50.00%*	13.00%	6.00%	0.00%	16.00%	Chi Square 89.1765 Significance 0.0001
2	19.00%	22.00%*	22.00%	6.00%	19.00%	Chi Square 10.0682 Significance 0.0393
3	40.00%	20.00%	20.00%*	7.00%	7.00%	Chi Square 38.8723 Significance 0.0001
4	27.00%	15.00%	19.00%	8.00%*	19.00%	Chi Square 10.8636 Significance 0.0281
5	28.00%	25.00%	11.00%	11.00%	19.00%*	Chi Square 13.0213 Significance 0.0112

*Chi Square = 41.0420
*Significance = 0.0001

Table XIV shows the results of six tests.

The first test shows the Anglo children stating that Anglo children are helpful and smart more often than are the Native American, the Asian, the African American, or the Hispanic children.

The difference in the frequencies produced a Chi Square of 89.1765 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

The second test shows the African American children stating that Native American children are helpful and smart less often than are the Anglo, the Asian, the African American, or the Hispanic children.

The difference in the frequencies produced a Chi Square of 10.0682 which was significant at the 0.0393 level.

The third test shows the Asian children stating that Anglo children are helpful and smart more often than are the Native American, the Asian, the African American, or the Hispanic children.

The difference in the frequencies produced a Chi Square of 12 5882 which was significant at the 0 0135 level

The fifth test finds the Hispanic children stating that the Anglo children are kind more often than are the Hispanic, the African American, the Asian, or the Native American children

The difference in the frequencies produced a Chi Square of 16 5319 which was significant at the 0 0024 level

TABLE XV

1 Anglo American Children
2 African American Children
3 Asian American Children
4 Native American Children
5 Hispanic American Children

D Racial Attitude
7 Which one is kind?

	1	2	3	4	5	
1	22.00%	16.00%	16.00%	0.00%	25.00%	Chi Square: 23.5949 Significance: 0.0001
2	19.00%	23.00%	19.00%	10.00%	26.00%	Chi Square: 7.4845 Significance: 0.1124
3	37.00%	7.00%	10.00%	3.00%	23.00%	Chi Square: 48.5 Significance: 0.0001
4	19.00%	27.00%	19.00%	12.00%	8.00%	Chi Square: 12.5882 Significance: 0.0135
5	28.00%	11.00%	25.00%	8.00%	22.00%	Chi Square: 16.5319 Significance: 0.0024

Table XV shows the results of five tests. Four of the tests are significant at or beyond the 0.05 level.

The first test finds the Anglo children stating that the Hispanic children are kind more often than are the Anglo, the African American, the Asian, or the Native American children. None of the Anglo children found a Native American child to be kind.

The difference in the frequencies produced a Chi Square of 23.5949 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

The third test finds the Anglo children stating that the Anglo children are kind more often than are the Hispanic, the African American, the Asian, or the Native American children.

The difference in the frequencies produced a Chi Square of 48.5 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

The fourth test finds the Native American children stating that the African American children are kind more often than are the Hispanic, the Anglo, the Asian, or the Native American children.

The difference in the frequencies produced a Chi Square of 38.8723 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

The fourth test shows the Native American children stating that Anglo children are helpful and smart more often than are the Native American, the Asian, the African American, or the Hispanic children.

The difference in the frequencies produced a Chi Square of 10.8636 which was significant at the 0.0281 level.

The fifth test shows the Hispanic children stating that Anglo children are helpful and smart more often than are the Native American, the Asian, the African American, or the Hispanic children.

The difference in the frequencies produced a Chi Square of 13.0213 which was significant at the 0.0112 level.

The sixth test (*) shows the Anglo children expressing own group preference regarding the traits helpful and smart more often than did the African American, the Asian American, the Native American, or the Hispanic children.

The difference in the frequencies produced a Chi Square of 41.0420 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

TABLE XVI

1 Anglo American Children
2 African American Children
3 Asian American Children
4 Native American Children
5 Hispanic Children

D Racial Attitude
8 Which one is good?

	1	2	3	4	5	
1	34.00%*	9.00%	17.00%	0.00%	25.00%	Chi Square 41.5294 Significance 0.0001
2	19.00%	10.00%*	35.00%	16.00%	16.00%	Chi Square 18.4792 Significance 0.0010
3	20.00%	17.00%	40.00%*	3.00%	13.00%	Chi Square 39.6344 Significance 0.0001
4	19.00%	23.00%	12.00%	12.00%*	2300.00%	Chi Square 6.8989 Significance 0.1413
5	28.00%	22.00%	17.00%	17.00%	19.00%*	Chi Square 4.1359 Significance 0.3879

*Chi Square = 31.1304
*Significance = 0.0001

Table XVI shows the results of six tests. Four of the tests are significant at or beyond the 0.05 level.

The first test shows the Anglo children expressing own-group preference regarding the trait good.

The difference in the frequencies produced a Chi Square of 41.5294 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

The second test shows the African American children expressing out-group preference in favor of the Asian American children regarding the trait good.

The difference in the frequencies produced a Chi Square of 18.4792 which was significant at the 0.0010 level.

The third test shows the Asian American children expressing own-group preference regarding the trait good.

The difference in the frequencies produced a Chi Square of 39.6344 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

The sixth test (*) shows the Asian American children expressing the strongest own-group preference of the children tested regarding the trait good.

The difference in the frequencies produced a Chi Square of 31.1304 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

TABLE XVII

1. Anglo American Children
2. African American Children
3. Asian American Children
4. Native American Children
5. Hispanic Children

E. Racial Preference
1. Of these children, who could you play with?

	1	2	3	4	5	
1	0.47*	0.19	0.16	0	0.06	Chi Square: 74.6136 Significance: 0.0001
2	0.39	0.1*	0.13	0.13	0.23	Chi Square: 28.9388 Significance: 0.0001
3	0.3	0.17	0.23*	0	0.27	Chi Square: 29.1340 Significance: 0.0001
4	0.27	0.27	0.08	0.04*	0.19	Chi Square: 26. 7059 Significance: 0.0001
5	0.39	0.08	0.25	0.14	0.08*	Chi Square: 37. 3830 Significance: 0.0001

*Chi Square = 66.5970
*Significance = 0.0001

Table XVII shows the results of six tests.

The first test shows the Anglo children showing own-group preference when choosing a friend.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 74.6136 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

The second test shows the African American children showing out-group preference in favor of Anglo children when choosing a playmate.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 28.9388 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

The third test shows the Asian American children showing out-group preference in favor of Anglo children when choosing a playmate.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 29.1340 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

The fourth test shows the Native American children showing out-group preference in favor of Anglo and African American children when choosing a playmate.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 26.7059 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

The fifth test shows the Hispanic children showing out-group preference in favor of Anglo children when choosing a playmate.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 37.3830 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

The sixth test (*) shows the Anglo children showing the only in-group preference of the children tested when choosing a playmate.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 66.5870 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

TABLE XVIII

1. Anglo American Children
2. African American Children
3. Asian American Children
4. Native American Children
5. Hispanic Children

E. Racial Preference
2. Who could be your friend?

	1	2	3	4	5	
1	44.00%*	13.00%	16.00%	0.00%	19.00%	Chi Square: 55.9348 Significance: 0.0001
2	26.00%	10.00%*	23.00%	16.00%	23.00%	Chi Square: 8.6327 Significance: 0.0710
3	30.00%	20.00%	17.00%*	7.00%	20.00%	Chi Square: 14.4043 Significance: 0.0061
4	19.00%	23.00%	15.00%	8.00%*	27.00%	Chi Square: 11.6957 Significance: 0.0198
5	39.00%	17.00%	17.00%	3.00%	19.00%*	Chi Square: 34.9474 Significance: 0.0001

*Chi Square = 42.3061
*Significance = 0.0001

Table XVIII shows the results of six tests.

The first test shows the Anglo children expressing own-group preference when choosing a friend.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 55.9348 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

The second test shows the African American children expressing out-group preference in favor of Anglo, Asian, and Hispanic children when choosing a friend.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 8.6327 which was significant at the 0.0710 level, but not at the 0.05 level.

The third test shows the Asian American children expressing out-group preference in favor of Anglo children when choosing a friend.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 14.4043 which was significant at the 0.0061 level.

The fourth test shows the Native American children expressing out-group preference in favor of Hispanic children when choosing a friend.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 11.6957 which was significant at the 0.0198 level.

The fifth test shows the Hispanic children expressing out-group preference in favor of Anglo children when choosing a friend.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 34.9474 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

The sixth test (*) shows the Anglo children expressing the only in-group preference among the children tested when choosing a friend.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 42.3061 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

TABLE XIX

1. Anglo American Children
2. African American Children
3. Asian American Children
4. Native American Children
5. Hispanic American Children

E. Racial Preference
3. Whose house would you like to visit?

	1	2	3	4	5	
1	31.00%*	19.00%	6.00%	0.00%	19.00%	Chi Square: 39.6 Significance: 0.0001
2	32.00%	13.00%*	16.00%	6.00%	23.00%	Chi Square: 21.8889 Significance: 0.0002
3	43.00%	13.00%	17.00%*	3.00%	7.00%	Chi Square: 59.4699 Significance: 0.0001
4	31.00%	12.00%	12.00%	4.00%*	31.00%	Chi Square: 33.6667 Significance: 0.0001
5	17.00%	8.00%	22.00%	11.00%	25.00%*	Chi Square: 12.3614 Significance: 0.0149

*Chi Square = 24.444
*Significance = 0.0001

Table XIX shows the results of six tests.

The first test found the Anglo children preferring to visit within rather than outside their own ethnicity.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 39.6 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

The second test found the African American children preferring to visit the home of an Anglo child.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 21.8889 which was significant at the 0.0002 level.

The third test found the Asian American children preferring to visit the home of an Anglo child.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 59.4699 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

The fourth test found the Native American children preferring to visit the homes of Anglo and Hispanic children.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 33.6667 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

The fifth test found the Hispanic children preferring to visit within their own ethnicity.

The difference in frequencies produced a Chi Square of 12.3614 which was significant at the 0.0149 level.

The sixth test (*) finds the Anglo children preferring to visit within their own ethnicity more often than did the African American children, the Asian American children, the Native American children, or the Hispanic children.

The difference in the frequencies produced a Chi Square of 24.4444 which was significant at the 0.0001 level.

DISCUSSION

Much research (e.g. Aboud, 1977, 1980; Crooks, 1970; Fox and Jordan, 1973; Greenwald and Oppenheim, 1968; Marsh, 1970; Morland, 1966; Morland and Hwang, 1981; Newman, et al., 1983; Rice et al., 1974; Rohrer, 1987; Vaughn, 1963; and Williams and Morland, 1976) indicates that Anglo children are aware of their own ethnic identity at four years of age, reaching almost 100 percent accuracy by the time they are six or seven years old. African American and Hispanic children are less aware at age four, but show similar awareness at six or seven years of age. Asian children do not show significant awareness of their own ethnicity until eight years of age. Native Americans reach this awareness at nine or ten years of age.

Further, the research shows that ethnic self-identification differs for majority and minority children. Anglo children identify with Anglo children 70 to 80 percent of the time between three and five years of age. African American children identify with African American children 70 percent of the time by five or six years of age, though the figure rarely exceeds 90 percent even in older children. Asian children identify with Asian children by the age of seven or eight years. As with African American children, the level of accuracy reaches 90 percent and goes no higher. Native American children identify with Anglo children until they are 10 years of age. Between the ages of 10 and 11, 70 percent saw themselves as similar to other Native Americans. Hispanic children are evenly divided at ages four and five between identification with Anglo children and identification with Hispanic children. Between the ages of six and eight, Hispanic children identified with Hispanic children 80 percent of the time.

With the exception of the Anglo children, the children in this study do not follow the pattern of past research. The percentage of children who identify with their own ethnic group is lower at every age level. However, most of the minority children who identified outside their own ethnic group, identified with a child of similar hair and skin color.

The Anglo children in this study were typical of children in past studies (Aboud and Mitchel, 1977; and Kalin, 1979) in that they showed increasingly positive attitudes toward minority children as they grew older. The minority children were so consistent in their choice of playmates and friends outside their own ethnic group at every age level that it suggests that they may be rejecting their own ethnicity. This is particularly true of the African American children as the hair type and skin tone differences are more distinct for them.

A. <u>SELF - CONCEPT</u>. The Anglo children were the most accurate when choosing a doll or picture that resembled

themselves. The Hispanic children were the least accurate. However, the Hispanic, Native American, and Asian children had difficulty distinguishing between children of similar hair, skin, and eye color which may have affected their choices. The majority of the African American children who identified outside their own ethnic group chose a Hispanic child whose hair and eye color were the same as their own.

ANGLO CHILDREN: When asked to choose a picture or a doll that looked like themselves, 24 of 32 Anglo children were able to choose correctly 75% of the time. The ability to choose correctly increased with age - except at age four - with the seven to ten-year-olds identifying within their own ethnic group 87% of the time. The Anglo children evidenced the most pronounced own-group preference of any of the five ethnic groups in terms of self-concept.

NATIVE AMERICAN CHILDREN: The majority - 57% or 15 of 26 - of the Native American children were not able to correctly choose a picture or a doll that looked like themselves. Of the 15 children who identified with ethnic groups other than their own, five chose Hispanic or Asian children whose skin, hair, and eye color were similar to their own. If these are accepted as own-group choices, the Native American children chose correctly 62% of the time rather than 43% of the time.

ASIAN CHILDREN: The 30 Asian children were equally divided between being able to correctly choose a picture or doll that looked like themselves, being incorrect in their choice, and being unable to find any picture or doll that they felt looked like themselves. Ten children chose correctly, ten children chose incorrectly, and ten children failed to choose at all. One child who chose incorrectly, identified with an Hispanic child whose skin, hair, and eye color were similar to his own. The other nine Asian children identifying outside their own ethnicity identified with Anglo children.

HISPANIC CHILDREN: The Hispanic children taking part in this survey were only of Native American and Spanish descent. Only nine - 23% - of the Hispanic children chose a picture or a doll representing an Hispanic child as looking like themselves. The vast majority - 74% chose incorrectly. However, ten of these choices were of Asian or Native American children with skin, hair, and eye color similar to their own making the percentage of Hispanic children identifying with children physically similar to themselves rise to 54%. Ten of the remaining children identified with

Anglo children. Two identified with African American children.

AFRICAN AMERICAN CHILDREN: Fifteen or 48% of the African American children chose a picture or a doll representing an African American child as looking like themselves. This is an increased percentage from earlier studies suggesting an increasingly positive self-concept. Three children were unable to make a choice and 13 children or 41% chose incorrectly. Ten of these children identified with an Hispanic child with hair and eye color similar to their own.

B. SELF-ESTEEM: Generally, the younger children were less accurate as to skin tone, hair and eye color in their drawings of themselves preferring bright colors to the skin tones initially offered. They were allowed to choose other colors from the box if they were clearly dissatisfied with the skin tones offered. Between the ages of five and seven years, the drawings became more consistent with reality as to skin tone and hair color. Eye color was less often accurate. The African American children and the Native American children were the least accurate overall drawing themselves with lighter skin and hair than they actually had.

ANGLO CHILDREN: The three and four-year-old Anglo children preferred colors other than the flesh tones presented for drawing with blue, green, pink, and yellow predominating. By the age of five years, the children began drawing pictures that were more accurate as to skin and hair color.

NATIVE AMERICAN CHILDREN: The majority of the Native American children drew pictures with lighter skin and hair color than the actual skin and hair color of the children. Only seven of the 26 children drew themselves with black hair.

ASIAN CHILDREN: Between the ages of three and five years, the majority of the pictures bore little resemblance to the children producing them as far as skin tone and hair color are concerned. The three and four-year-old children preferred pink, green, and blue for skin and hair color. By the age of five years, the children begin drawing pictures that are more realistic as to skin tone and hair color. Five of the children aged six and older used only black in their drawings.

HISPANIC CHILDREN: Twenty or 51% of the Hispanic children drew pictures with lighter hair and skin color than their own. By the age of seven years, the pictures were consistently realistic however, six of the children three to seven years of age (45%) drew pictures that were reasonably accurate as to skin and hair color.

AFRICAN AMERICAN CHILDREN: Of the 31 children interviewed, all but four drew pictures with significantly lighter skin and hair color than the children actually had. This could suggest a denial of their ethnicity. Many of the four-year-old children chose to outline in blue rather than use any of the skin tones available.

C. RACIAL AWARENESS and KNOWLEDGE of RACIAL TERMS: Without exception, the children from each ethnic group could easily recognize distinct ethnic differences. The children had no difficulty differentiating between the African American picture or doll and the Anglo picture or doll when presented side by side without the other dolls or pictures in view. When the differences were more subtle and skin tone, hair color, and eye color were very similar the children were all less accurate. When all the ethnic groups were presented together, the children had a little more difficulty distinguishing distinct differences. Hair style appeared to influence choices. The assistant director of a day care program in Texas sent a letter saying that the mother of one of her students mentioned that her child - aged three years - had identified with another child because they both had pony tails. An African American Mom, who sat in while her child was interviewed, said that she thought that the short hair style of the African American girl doll prevented many of the African American girls from identifying with her because most of the African American girls had long hair in pony tails or braids.

Very few children taking part in this survey expressed any racial terms while being interviewed. However, racial terms in the form of epithets were heard being used while the children were playing. These remarks were heard only in child care centers which served low income families and where the children were exclusively of Hispanic and African American descent. There was much less adult supervision in these centers than in others that were visited.

ANGLO CHILDREN: Eleven or 34% of the Anglo children matched all ethnic groups correctly. Five or 16% matched none of the groups. Four or 13% expressed racial terms.

NATIVE AMERICAN CHILDREN: Seven or 27% of the Native American children matched all ethnic groups correctly. Five or 19% matched none of the groups. Four or 15% expressed racial terms.

ASIAN CHILDREN: Three or 10% of the Asian children matched all the ethnic groups correctly. Four or 13% matched none of the groups. Four or 13% expressed racial terms.

HISPANIC CHILDREN: Six or 15% of the Hispanic children matched all ethnic groups correctly. Four or 10% matched none of the groups. Four or 10% expressed racial terms.

AFRICAN AMERICAN CHILDREN: None of the African American children were able to match all the ethnic groups correctly. Nine or 29% were not able to match any of the groups. Six or 19% expressed racial terms.

D. RACIAL ATTITUDE: All the ethnic groups were quite consistent in their attitude toward colors. The vast majority of all the children liked all colors and had positive feelings about black, brown, and white. The color that evoked the most negative feeling was brown, but very few children in any group had negative feelings toward any of the three aforementioned colors.

Half or less than half of the children in each group had any specific thoughts come to mind when asked to think of the colors black, brown, or white. They all needed prompting to think of anything (e.g., I think of an apple when I see the color red. What do you think of when you see the color black, brown, white?) and they seemed to be reaching for an idea just to come up with something.

ANGLO CHILDREN: Thirteen or 40% of the Anglo children thought of nothing when considering the colors black, brown, and white. The Anglo children expressed slightly more negative feelings about the three colors than did the other ethnic groups, however no color had the majority of the negative feelings. They were nearly equally represented in the negative range, but very little negativity was expressed.

NATIVE AMERICAN CHILDREN: Ten or 38% of the Native American children thought of nothing when asked to think about the colors black, brown, and white.

ASIAN CHILDREN: The Asian children were one of two groups expressing the least amount of negative feelings about the colors black, brown, and white. Fifteen or 50% of these children thought of nothing when asked to consider the three colors.

HISPANIC CHILDREN: The Hispanic children expressed even less negativity toward the three colors black, brown, and white than did the Asian children. Twenty-eight or 72% of the Hispanic children thought of nothing when considering the three colors.

AFRICAN AMERICAN CHILDREN: Fifteen or 48% of the African American children thought of nothing when considering the colors black, brown, and white.

E. RACIAL PREFERENCE: The African American, Native American, Hispanic, and Asian children chose friends outside their own ethnicity the majority of the time. In the case of the Asian, Hispanic, and Native American children, the choices were frequently of children with hair, skin, and eye coloring similar to their own. These choices could be considered in-group choices. The ethnic differences between the African American children and their out-group choices are more distinct suggesting that the African American children may be rejecting their own ethnic group when choosing friends. The Anglo children were fairly evenly split with the Seven through tens slightly more inclined to choose a friend outside their own ethnic group.

ANGLO CHILDREN: Fifteen or 47% of the Anglo children chose a friend outside their own ethnic group. Fourteen or 44% chose a friend from within their own ethnic group. The children between the ages of seven and ten years were the most likely to find a friend outside their own ethnicity, doing so 62% of the time. Because the Anglo children are representative of the dominant socioeconomic group in the areas surveyed, this willingness to find friends beyond the boundaries of their own ethnic group may be suggestive of sufficient self-confidence to make an other than a standard choice.

NATIVE AMERICAN CHILDREN: Twenty-one or 81% of the Native American children chose a friend outside of their own ethnic group. Eleven of these choices were of Hispanic or Asian children who had similar skin, hair, and

eye coloring. If these choices were accepted as in-group choices, the Native American children would be divided nearly evenly between in-group and out-group preference when choosing a friend with 50% or 13 choosing a friend from within their own ethnic group. It is difficult to determine whether or not these children actually prefer children from other ethnicities as friends.

ASIAN CHILDREN: Twenty-three or 77% of the Asian children chose a friend from outside their own ethnic group. Eight of these choices were of Native American or Hispanic children whose hair, skin, and eye coloring were similar to their own. If these choices are accepted as in-group choices, the Asian children are exhibiting an in-group preference of 47% when choosing friends and an out-group preference of 50%. As with the Native American children, it is difficult to decide how the data should be interpreted. Ten or 33% of the Asian children chose an Anglo child as a friend. Again, in cases where the Anglo child has dark hair and eyes, the ethnic differences may not be distinct enough for a young child to discern.

HISPANIC CHILDREN: Twenty-nine or 74% of the Hispanic children chose a friend from outside their own ethnic group. Seven of these choices were Native American or Asian children with skin tone, hair and eye color similar to their own. If these choices are designated as in-group choices, the percentage of Hispanic children choosing friends from their own ethnic group increases to 38% from 21%and lowers the out-group preference to 56%. Nineteen of the Hispanic children chose an Anglo child as a friend. This choice represents 49% of the children and may suggest a preference for a group perceived as dominant.

AFRICAN AMERICAN CHILDREN: The African American children indicated a strong out-group preference when choosing a friend. Twenty-seven or 87% of the children chose a friend from outside their own ethnic group. Eight of theses choices were of Anglo children. This represents an overall preference of 25% which is not as large as seen in earlier studies. The fact that 87% of the African American children chose friends whose ethnic characteristics were distinctly different from their own may suggest that African American children are rejecting their own ethnicity when choosing friends.

For teachers of young children, the knowledge that very young children are noticing, have questions about, and are being affected by the response of society to ethnic differences has a multitude of implications. The first being

an honest evaluation of our own feelings and attitudes about people from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. We need to become aware of the stereotypes and biases that we have learned and find ways to deal with any misconceptions and fears that we have. When we are at ease with differences ourselves, we will be better able to answer with honesty and accuracy the natural questions that young children have about the people they encounter. We will be able to create an environment in which young children feel comfortable asking questions and being themselves.

It is important to carefully evaluate materials used in a program for young children and to avoid or remove any that contain biased messages (Derman-Sparks, Gutierrez, and Phillips, 1989). Equally important, materials must be appropriate to the focus of young children and to their developmental level. It is necessary to provide experiences that contrast the stereotypical images commonly presented by society and to talk to children about what is fair and unfair or true and untrue. Because preference is affected when identifying with one's own ethnic group and perceived differences between one's own ethnic group and others' affects prejudice (Frances Aboud, Children and Prejudice, 1988), children need to know that some things are not appropriate for comparison. For example, it is O.K. to prefer the color blue, but that preference does not devalue the color brown.

A successful program for young children should be able to meet the basic needs of each individual child including a positive self-esteem, a sense of belonging, and a feeling of achievement (Browne, et al., 1984). In order to meet the needs of the children in any program, the teacher needs to understand the impact of each child's cultural heritage. As children begin to be aware of the ethnicity of the people around them, they are becoming more aware of themselves and of their own cultural heritage. Failing to allow for the force of a child's home environment may result in immediate or long term problems. Many minority children speak a language other than English at home (Browne, et al., 1984). Because there is evidence that sufficient development of a first language enhances a child's ability to learn a second language (Cummins, 1979), it is very important that a teacher support a bilingual child in the primary language as the child is helped to develop a second language. This may require bilingual teachers in a bilingual program. Learning styles are influenced by a child's cultural background. Native American children and Hispanic children for example, often work better in a group because their ethnic traditions emphasize group identity rather than individual identity and cooperation is more important than competition (Browne, et al., 1984). Part of the responsibility of a teacher of young children is to learn about the families and the children enrolled in the program - what traditions and values give meaning to their lives and enable them to operate successfully in the larger society.

Additionally, teachers of young children need to be actively involved in challenging and opposing prejudice and biases in the society at large as well as in the school setting. Young children are sensitive to the unspoken messages around them and in a stratified society, socioeconomic status is a powerful means of communication. All children - all people - need to have an equal opportunity to develop their potential and to be accorded the dignity and respect due to a productive member of society.

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ASIAN CHILDREN

Age Group of Children	Identified Within Own Ethnicity	Identified Outside Own Ethnicity	Chose Friend Within Own Ethnicity	Chose Friend Outside Own Ethnicity	Assigned Positive and Negative Characteristics to Varying Ethnicities
3 Years (3)	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%	100.00%	33.00%
4 Years (4)	50.00%	25.00%	50.00%	85.00%	50.00%
5 & 6 Years (14)	29.00%	29.00%	14.00%	87.00%	64.00%
7 - 10 Years (9)	44.00%	22.00%	22.00%	77.00%	88.00%

Age Group of Children	Matched Anglo Children	Matched Asian Children	Matched African - American Children	Matched Native American Children	Matched Hispanic Children
3 Years (3)	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	33.00%	0.00%
4 Years (4)	25.00%	50.00%	50.00%	0.00%	0.00%
5 & 6 Years (14)	43.00%	50.00%	57.00%	7.00%	21.00%
7 -10 Years (9)	55.00%	55.00%	66.00%	55.00%	22.00%

Age Group of Children	Matched All Ethnic Groups	Matched No Ethnic Groups	Matched African-American and Anglo Children Only	Expressed Racial Terms
3 Years (3)	0.00%	66.00%	0.00%	0.00%
4 Years (4)	25.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
5 & 6 Years (14)	7.00%	14.00%	0.00%	14.00%
7 - 10 Years (9)	11.00%	0.00%	0.00%	22.00%

HISPANIC CHILDREN

Age Group of Children	Identified Within Own Ethnicity	Identified Outside Own Ethnicity	Chose Friend Within Own Ethnicity	Chose Friend Outside Own Ethnicity	Assigned Positive and Negative Characteristics to Varying Ethnicities
3 Years (7)	43.00%	57.00%	28.00%	71.00%	86.00%
4 Years (14)	7.00%	93.00%	14.00%	78.00%	100.00%
5 & 6 Years (14)	21.00%	50.00%	28.00%	64.00%	86.00%
7 - 10 Years (4)	50.00%	50.00%	0.00%	100.00%	75.00%

Age Group of Children	Matched Anglo Children	Matched Asian Children	Matched African - American Children	Matched Native American Children	Matched Hispanic Children
3 Years (7)	14.00%	0.00%	14.00%	0.00%	14.00%
4 Years (14)	36.00%	36.00%	36.00%	14.00%	28.00%
5 & 6 Years (14)	57.00%	57.00%	78.00%	14.00%	36.00%
7 - 10 Years (4)	75.00%	75.00%	75.00%	75.00%	75.00%

Age Group of Children	Matched All Ethnic Groups	Matched No Ethnic Groups	Matched African-American and Anglo Children Only	Expressed Racial Terms
3 Years (7)	0.00%	71.00%	0.00%	0.00%
4 Years (14)	7.00%	36.00%	14.00%	21.00%
5 & 6 Years (14)	14.00%	0.00%	7.00%	14.00%
7 - 10 Years (4)	75.00%	25.00%	0.00%	50.00%

NATIVE AMERICAN CHILDREN

Age Group of Children	Identified Within Own Ethnicity	Identified Outside Own Ethnicity	Chose Friend Within Own Ethnicity	Chose Friend Outside Own Ethnicity	Assigned Positive and Negative Characteristics to Varying Ethnicities
3 Years (3)	33.00%	66.00%	0.00%	33.00%	33.00%
4 Years (5)	20.00%	60.00%	0.00%	100.00%	80.00%
5 & 6 Years (7)	43.00%	57.00%	14.00%	86.00%	86.00%
7 - 10 Years (11)	27.00%	55.00%	9.00%	82.00%	64.00%

Age Group of Children	Matched Anglo Children	Matched Asian Children	Matched African - American Children	Matched Native American Children	Matched Hispanic Children
3 Years (3)	33.00%	33.00%	33.00%	33.00%	33.00%
4 Years (5)	60.00%	40.00%	60.00%	0.00%	40.00%
5 & 6 Years (7)	86.00%	43.00%	86.00%	43.00%	71.00%
7 -10 Years (11)	45.00%	45.00%	73.00%	18.00%	18.00%

Age Group of Children	Matched All Ethnic Groups	Matched No Ethnic Groups	Matched African-American and Anglo Children Only	Expressed Racial Terms
3 Years (3)	33.00%	66.00%	0.00%	0.00%
4 Years (5)	0.00%	40.00%	20.00%	0.00%
5 & 6 Years (7)	43.00%	14.00%	14.00%	43.00%
7 - 10 Years (11)	27.00%	0.00%	0.00%	9.00%

AFRICAN AMERICAN CHILDREN

Age Group of Children	Identified Within Own Ethnicity	Identified Outside Own Ethnicity	Chose Friend Within Own Ethnicity	Chose Friend Outside Own Ethnicity	Assigned Positive and Negative Characteristics to Varying Ethnicities
3 Years (9)	44.00%	44.00%	22.00%	77.00%	55.00%
4 Years (9)	44.00%	33.00%	0.00%	88.00%	88.00%
5 & 6 Years (4)	50.00%	50.00%	10.00%	90.00%	70.00%
7 - 10 Years (3)	66.00%	33.00%	0.00%	100.00%	66.00%

Age Group of Children	Matched Anglo Children	Matched Asian Children	Matched African - American Children	Matched Native American Children	Matched Hispanic Children
3 Years (9)	44.00%	11.00%	33.00%	11.00%	11.00%
4 Years (9)	22.00%	11.00%	22.00%	22.00%	22.00%
5 & 6 Years (10)	50.00%	40.00%	70.00%	20.00%	30.00%
7 -10 Years (3)	0.00%	66.00%	66.00%	0.00%	66.00%

Age Group of Children	Matched All Ethnic Groups	Matched No Ethnic Groups	Matched African-American and Anglo Children Only	Expressed Racial Terms
3 Years (9)	0.00%	55.00%	11.00%	0.00%
4 Years (9)	0.00%	33.00%	11.00%	11.00%
5 & 6 Years 10)	0.00%	0.00%	10.00%	30.00%
7 - 10 Years (3)	0.00%	33.00%	0.00%	66.00%

ANGLO AMERICAN CHILDREN

Age Group of Children	Identified Within Own Ethnicity	Identified Outside Own Ethnicity	Chose Friend Within Own Ethnicity	Chose Friend Outside Own Ethnicity	Assigned Positive and Negative Characteristics to Varying Ethnicities
3 Years (4)	75.00%	0.00%	25.00%	25.00%	0.00%
4 Years (12)	58.00%	41.00%	41.00%	50.00%	91.00%
5 & 6 Years (8)	87.00%	12.00%	75.00%	25.00%	87.00%
7 - 10 Years (8)	87.00%	12.00%	37.00%	62.00%	62.00%

Age Group of Children	Matched Anglo Children	Matched Asian Children	Matched African - American Children	Matched Native American Children	Matched Hispanic Children
3 Years (4)					
4 Years (12)					
5 & 6 Years (8)					
7 -10 Years (8)					

Age Group of Children	Matched All Ethnic Groups	Matched No Ethnic Groups	Matched African-American and Anglo Children Only	Expressed Racial Terms
3 Years (4)	0.00%	50.00%	25.00%	0.00%
4 Years (12)	25.00%	16.00%	41.00%	0.00%
5 & 6 Years (8)	37.00%	16.00%	25.00%	0.00%
7 - 10 Years (8)	62.00%	0.00%	25.00%	0.00%

Racial Awareness Response Form

Child_____ Birthdate_____

Ethnicity_____ Social class_____ Gender_____

Tell the child you need help to learn more about what children think. Ask the child, "Could you help me learn about children?" If the child agrees, take the child to a quiet corner in the classroom. Say to the child, "I have some pictures to show you and some questions to ask you. I am going to write down what you say so that I don't forget it."

A. **Self-Concept**

Lay out the photos of the boys and girls from each ethnic group on a flat surface. Ask the child:

1. "Which one looks like you?" _____
2. "How are you and that child alike?" _____

B. **Self-Esteem**

Set the drawing paper and crayons out on a hard flat surface in front of the child. Say to the child, "Color a picture of yourself." If the child responds, "I don't know how," say, "Then color a picture of someone who looks like you." Then record:

1. Description of drawing._____
2. Child's comments while drawing._____

C. **Racial Awareness and Knowledge of Racial Terms**

Mix up the matched set of multi-ethnic people cards. Lay out the photos in front of the child.

1. Ask the child to match the people. If the child has difficulty say, "Can you find the other one that is just like this one?" Record comments. _____
2. After the child has matched the pairs, point to each matched set and ask, "What do you call these people?" _____

D. **Racial Attitude**

Show the child the color squares. With each color ask:

1. "What do you think of when you see the color (*name of color*)?" _____
2. "How does the color (*name of color*) make you feel?" _____

Racial Awareness Response Form (cont.)

Show the child the photos of the boys and girls from each ethnic group. Ask the child:

3. "Which one is lazy and stupid?" _____

4. "Which one is mean?" _____

5. "Which one is bad?" _____

6. "Which one is helpful and smart?" _____

7. "Which one is kind?" _____

8. "Which one is good?" _____

9. "Is there anything else you want to tell me about these pictures?" _____

E. **Racial Preference**

Once again, lay out the card of the multi-ethnic children. Ask the following questions:

1. "Of these children, who could you play with?" _____

2. "Who could be your friend?" _____

3. "Whose house would you like to visit?" _____

4. "Is there anything else you want to tell me about these pictures?" _____

Thank the child for spending time with you and helping you today. Help the child transition back into the classroom activities.

Source: York, Stacey (1992), Developing Roots & Wings: A Trainer's Guide to Affirming Culture in Early Childhood Programs, Redleaf Press, St. Paul, MN. P168-169.